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2436th MEETING: 18 MAY 1983

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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council.* The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

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2436th MEETING

Held in New York on Wednesday, 18 May 1983, at 10.30 a.m.

President: Mr. UMBA di LUTETE (Zaire).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2436)

1. Adoption of the agenda.

2. Letter dated 5 May 1983 from the representative of Nicaragua on the Security Council addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15746).

The meeting was called to order at 11.25 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 5 May 1983 from the representative of Nicaragua on the Security Council addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15746)

1. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings devoted to this item [*2431st to 2435th meetings*], I invite the representative of Honduras to take a place at the Council table. I also invite the representatives of Algeria, Argentina, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Grenada, Guatemala, the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mali, Mauritius, Mexico, Panama, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Spain, the Syrian Arab Republic, Uganda, Venezuela and Viet Nam to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ortez Colindres (Honduras) took a place at the Council table. Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Muñiz (Argentina), Mr. Albán Holguín (Colombia), Mr. Zumbado Jiménez (Costa Rica), Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Rosales-Rivera (El Salvador), Mr. Ibrahim (Ethiopia), Mr. Taylor (Grenada), Mr. Quiñones-Amézquita (Guatemala), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Vongsaly (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Traoré (Mali), Mr. Maudave (Mauritius), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico), Mr. Ozores Typaldos (Panama), Mr. Cassandra (Sao Tome and Principe), Ms. Gonthier (Seychelles) Mr. de Piniés (Spain), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Otunnu (Uganda), Mr. Martini Urdaneta (Venezuela) and Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from French*): I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of the Dominican Republic and Greece in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Knipping Victoria (Dominican Republic) and Mr. Dountas (Greece) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The first speaker is the representative of Argentina. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

4. Mr. MUÑIZ (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to thank you, Mr. President, and the other members of the Security Council for the opportunity to take part in this debate. I should also like to congratulate you on assuming this high office. I am sure that your ability and experience bode well for the debate.

5. Previous speakers at this series of Council meetings, which is taking place at the request of the Government of Nicaragua, have warned us of the dangers inherent in any further worsening of the situation in Central America. This situation is especially marked by political destabilization, violence and the constant threat affecting brother nations. Mounting tension and the clear deterioration in the political climate endanger international peace and security.

6. The Central American region cannot and must not become one more of these chronic zones of conflict that afflict the world today. It is absolutely clear that international security is a basic element in international relations and, therefore, part of the Central American set of problems. But for the countries of the region security is

not just a military concept; first and foremost, it has a social and economic dimension.

7. Argentina feels that the deep-rooted causes of this crisis lie both in the anachronistic political and socio-economic situations which eliminated justice as a principal guideline of coexistence and in the persistent violations of the principle of non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. My country, faithful to its political tradition, reaffirms its complete adherence to the full observance of these principles codified in international law, an observance that is absolutely essential for political understanding among nations.

8. We consider that the situation under discussion in the Council clearly shows that the principle of non-intervention is of particular importance in this instance. Latin America is the continent which is trying to assert genuine independence, to develop and to better its institutions and to ensure the social and economic progress of its peoples. At the present time, it is precisely in Central America where the difficulties of these efforts can be most clearly seen.

9. It is not encouraging that, despite the repeated expressions of willingness to talk and the endeavours of the Contadora Group to find ways and means to make that possible, there have as yet been no talks.

10. On 18 April, when consultations were held in Panama by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela with the Central American Foreign Ministers, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Religion of my country sent a message to the Foreign Minister of Panama in order to reaffirm, on behalf of the Argentina Government, our adherence to the principles set forth in the Contadora information bulletin of 9 January,[1] as well as the actions taken after that date to promote a peaceful settlement of the Central American conflicts which are of concern to us all

11. As emerges from the information bulletin on the meetings held at Panama on 20 and 21 April [*S/15727, annex*], the Central American Foreign Ministers agreed on their joint endeavour for talks and reaffirmed that the responsibility for arriving at agreements to guarantee a stable and lasting peace lies "mainly" with the Central American countries themselves.

12. In meetings on 11 and 12 May, the members of the Contadora Group appealed for the strengthening of principles which should guide the activities of States in the international arena and once again called upon the Central American countries to help attain the goal of peace and, to that end, to apply their political will to the search for ways leading to dialogue and understanding to settle their current differences. The success of the peace initiatives largely depends on such an open-minded and constructive attitude. To achieve those objectives, they formally invited the five Foreign Ministers of Central America to hold a working meeting at Panama from 28 to 30 May.

13. We believe it is not possible to delay any further a peaceful solution to the conflicts besetting our Central American brothers.

14. The responsibility lies with us all: with the great Powers, which must make a genuine effective effort to support the peace initiatives; with the other Members of the world Organization; and, above all, with the Central American countries, whose persistent lacerations in a struggle which adds to the suffering and sacrifice of their peoples must end, so that they can develop in freedom and with full respect for their national identities.

15. In this regard we wish to mention once again the noble and brotherly attitude of the member countries of the Contadora Group, whose concern to achieve a final solution to the conflicts affecting the Central American peoples deserves the most broadly based and unreserved support. On this occasion Argentina reaffirms its full solidarity with those endeavours and promises its total support for all the peace initiatives.

16. We are confident that these objectives can be successful—as they deserve to be—so that tension can be reduced and the foundations laid for a permanent atmosphere of peaceful coexistence and mutual respect among the States.

17. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of the Congo. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

18. Mr. GAYAMA (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): It gives me great pleasure to congratulate you, Sir, the distinguished representative of Zaire, the worthy President of the Security Council, who since practically the beginning of this month have been constantly engaged in intensive activities that are directly relevant to the uncertain times in which we live and which urgently call for the Council's more-necessary-than-ever assistance. The qualities which everyone recognizes in you are no surprise to a representative of the People's Republic of the Congo who knows very well that you have had to draw on them more than once in maintaining the relations between our two countries when you were at the head of the diplomatic service of Zaire.

19. I wish also to extend congratulations to Mrs. Kirkpatrick, representative of the United States, for the effective way in which she guided the Council's work last month.

20. I should like also to discharge an important duty, that is, to salute the memory of Mr. Tsogtyn Narkhuu, the representative of Mongolia, who died a few days ago leaving a great void in the hearts of all those here in the United Nations who respected his outstanding personal qualities and admired his profound feeling for human relations and his great diplomatic attributes. May these words be, for the bereaved family and his colleagues, the expression of the heartfelf sympathy of all members of the Mission of the Congo.

21. When it rid itself, not so long ago, of the sinister dictatorship of Somoza, the people of Nicaragua did not imagine, nor did we, that nostalgic Somozists would have the termerity to prevent the people of Nicaragua from dressing its wounds and getting down without further ado to the uplifting task of national reconstruction. For that we would have had to reckon without the active complicity of certain neighbours, hostile in principle to anything that would mean a radical change in the political, economic and social fields.

22. Placed in the American general context, the Sandinist revolution, like the Cuban revolution before it, could in no way be to the liking of the Republican Administration of a neighbouring super-Power, which has made no secret of its options in favour of the forces of reaction and conservatism and which more than once has indicated its firm determination to harass all those who favour change in this hemisphere.

23. Such a situation is not merely fraught with disastrous consequences for international peace and security; it sows the seeds of perpetual suspicion more likely to exacerbate mistrust than to create a climate of trust, although we are convinced that the latter is sought by the peoples themselves.

24. For the simple purpose of subscribing to the proposals for a solution already mentioned in this chamber, the Congolese delegation would like to sum up its statement of today in a simple appeal: an appeal to respect the norms of international law, the only method of guaranteeing peaceful coexistence and harmony among régimes and States; an appeal for dialogue and a peaceful settlement of disputes as the key for safeguarding the principle of good-neighbourliness. Indeed, respect for the norms of international law certainly remains the basic guarantee without which differences in political systems and differences in size or economic or military power would in themselves constitute elements of discord rather than complementarity.

25. It is appropriate to stress here the concordance of approaches prevalent in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and other international forums such as the General Assembly or the Security Council. This concordance derives quite simply from the conviction shared by most countries, which is basic, not merely to show respect for the territorial integrity and the sovereignty of other States, without any interference in their affairs, but also to ensure that force is not used as a way of settling problems. In this context, it is even more specious to consider aggression or premeditated attack as a preferred method of establishing a system of values and lasting and sound relations.

26. In this particular case, my delegation has no hesitation in saying that this is a plot that was hatched with the idea of casting Nicaragua in the role of the aggressor, although it has been subjected to various forms of harassment designed simply to distract that country from its priority tasks and to embroil it in acts of diversion which serve the enemies of its system.

27. In March the Council was convened to consider the situation resulting from a similar crisis, and at that time my Government did not conceal its indignation. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Congo, on 24 March, denounced the imperialist subversive manouevres against the people of Nicaragua and vehemently condemned the machiavellian acts of sabotage and the imperialist fury directed against that country. In that statement my Government affirmed its constant support for the valiant people of Nicaragua in their just and salutary struggle for the total liberation of their country and made an urgent appeal to the international community and the peoples of the world that cherish peace, justice and freedom to give the Sandinist National Liberation Front all necessary assistance to bring about the triumph of their just cause.

28. Many speakers before us here have elaborated on the idea of negotiation as an essential instrument for safeguarding and promoting peace. As such, negotiation expresses the will to seek the implementation of norms governing relations among nations which are really aware of the mutual advantages of their freedom.

29. The Congo, for its part, cannot fail to give its firm support not merely to the laudable efforts undertaken by the Latin American countries called the Contadora Group—that is, Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—but also to the various indispensable, if not cardinal, initiatives mentioned a few days ago by the Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua to establish fruitful contact with Honduras and other neighbouring countries. Any delaying tactics in this regard must, in the opinion of my delegation, denote an unavowed attitude of confusion designed to play into the hands of the super-Power whose interests coincide exactly with those of oligarchies established on poverty and exploitation of the majority.

30. In conclusion, I should like here to reaffirm the sincere and firm support of my country for the proposal to the effect that the Security Council should play a greater part than heretofore in resolving the crisis in Central America, through the good offices of the Secretary-General and, we sincerely hope, the co-operation of all its members.

31. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Uganda, and I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

32. Mr. OTUNNU (Uganda): Mr. President, I am grateful to you and the members of the Council for allowing my delegation to participate in this debate. First of all I should like to convey to you the warm greetings and congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of May. We are delighted and proud to see you, an eminent son of the Republic of Zaire, a State that is a friend and neighbour of my own country, Uganda, presiding over the Council during this very important month. We know that, under your skilled and experience guidance, the Council will discharge its responsibilities with resolve and speed.

33. I also take this opportunity to express our deep appreciation to Mrs. Kirkpatrick of the United States for the dynamic and wise leadership she gave the Council during April.

34. There is a fire burning in and around the Central American nation of Nicaragua. Over the past months that fire has spread steadily; today it has reached very dangerous proportions, which is the reason for the present debate in the Council.

35. My delegation is concerned about this development for two reasons: first, because this fire is affecting the well-being of Nicaragua, and secondly, because, if unchecked, this fire will engulf the whole Central American region, with some flames extending beyond that region. For the sake of international peace and security, we cannot overemphasize the need for definite and speedy action to put out this fire. Although the situation in and around Nicaragua has reached very dangerous proportions, it has not yet got out of control. The Council therefore has an opportunity to take preventive action in the area by easing tension and searching for a just and durable solution.

36. In our view, three elements are critical to this process. First, the Council must underline the obligation of all States to respect the principles of the Charter and the norms of general international law. Foremost among these principles and obligations are the following: non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, self-determination for all countries and peoples, strict respect for the territorial integrity of other States, strict respect for the political independence and sovereignty of all States, the obligation not to allow the territory of a State to be used for the commission of acts of aggression against other States, the obligation not to resort to the threat or use of force to resolve conflicts and the commitment to resolve all disputes through peaceful means. These principles and obligations should be self-evident. However, recent events indicate the need for them to be restated even more strongly than ever.

37. Secondly, the Council should reaffirm the right of the people of Nicaragua, no less than the right of all the peoples of Central America, to determine their own destiny in total freedom, without outside interference. This means that all the peoples of Central America must be free to choose their own political and social systems without fear of harassment or interference from outside.

38. Thirdly, the Council should steer the parties involved in this conflict away from the course of war and on to the path of dialogue and negotiation. In this connection, we noted with appreciation the spirit of dialogue and conciliation shown by the Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua, Mr. Miguel D'Escoto Brockmann, before the Council on 9 May, when he stated:

> "We have not come here to engage in recriminations or to seek compensation for damage.... "We have come before the Council to respond to aggression and death with an invitation to frank and constructive dialogue." [*See 2431st meeting, paras. 45 and 46.*]

The Council must encourage all the parties involved in this conflict to show this constructive spirit of conciliation and dialogue.

39. Fortunately, the foundation for dialogue and negotiation has already been laid by the Contadora Group, consisting of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela. To these four countries we pay a special tribute for their initiative and efforts in favour of peace in Central America. By their commitment and impartiality they have shown an example worthy of emulation in other parts of the world where disputes and conflicts are rife.

40. It is our hope that the Security Council will not leave the Contadora Group to carry out alone the task of evolving a viable framework for peace. After all, the responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security rests primarily with the Council. It should therefore devise a mechanism to build on the efforts of the Contadora Group in order to maintain the momentum for dialogue and negotiation.

41. Finally, I wish to stress one more point. It is well known that the people of Nicaragua have just emerged from a long and harrowing war of liberation that set the country free from the Fascist dictatorship of the Somoza régime. The people of Nicaragua, like the other peoples of Central America, do not need another war; they do not need further destruction and waste. What all the peoples of Central America need is a period of genuine peace—a period in which to devote all their energies to the urgent tasks of economic and social development.

42. I hope the Council will not disappoint the peoples of Central America, who have been brutalized and exploited for far too long. It is our hope that the Council will take definite steps to put out the fire that is now raging in Central America before it gets out of hand.

43. Meanwhile, the Government and people of Uganda take this opportunity to reaffirm their continued solidarity with the peoples of Central America in their just struggle for freedom and social justice.

44. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): As a recent occupant of the chair you now fill, Sir, may I say how much I have admired the clarity and authority which you have already demonstrated. These qualities make it easy to understand the value which your Government clearly places on your services. It is evident that the Council will be indebted to you on many occasions in this unusually busy and difficult month. Your predecessor, Mrs. Kirkpatrick, commands our respect and thanks. She presided with tact and good humour and notably advanced the work of the Council on the Secretary-General's report.

45. In the course of the past eight weeks the Council has devoted, I think, 13 sessions to the problems brought before it by the delegation of Nicaragua. The speech I am now giving is, I believe, the ninety-second statement in these two debates. Some of the speeches we have heard seem to have been directed primarily not so much at solving the problem as at publicizing it. I should like to bring the Council back to our role as problem-solvers.

46. We have weighed up as objectively as we can the facts as they are known to us and the arguments that have been put to us. As members of the Council, we feel a responsibility not merely to listen to speeches but to contribute to decisions which will, we hope, reduce the sharpness and extent of differences between Members of the United Nations and at least point in the most promising direction for further progress.

47. To judge from some of the speeches we have heard, the main issue between the parties concerned is whether to try to make progress by bilateral discussion or by multilateral discussion. If that is really the crucial point, it ought not to be too difficult to resolve. At least all seem to be agreed that there should be some discussion. All have welcomed the efforts of the Contadora Group and all have praised the principles upon which the Group has been operating. My delegation considers that there are elements here on which we can build something useful.

48. The first step, in our opinion, would be to reaffirm the passage dealing with principles in the bulletin issued by the Contadora Group on 12 May [*S/15762, annex*]. I should like to read the relevant part of that bulletin:

> "The Ministers for External Relations of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela note with deep concern the development of the Central America conflict"—note that phrase, "the Central American conflict"—"over the past few days and the repeated violation of essential principles of the international legal order.
>
> "These circumstances have given rise to various initiatives aimed at seeking the intervention of multilateral organizations. The initiatives include the recent requests made by Central American countries to the United Nations Security Council and the Permanent Council of the Organization of American States.
>
> "It would be highly desirable that in the deliberations taking place in the aforementioned forums, and especially those currently under way in the Security Council, there should be a strengthening of principles which should guide the activities of States in the international arena.
>
> "These principles include: self-determination and non-interference in the affairs of other States, respect for the territorial integrity of other States, the obligation not to allow the territory of a State to be used for committing acts of aggression against other States, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the prohibition of the threat or use of force to resolve conflicts."

My delegation would like to see these principles, which are the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, upheld by this Council. They are, as I have said, apparently acceptable to all; they are Charter principles and their acceptance would make a good starting point.

49. Immediately following the passage I have just read out, the Contadora bulletin calls upon the Central American countries—and again it says all the Central American countries—

> "to help attain the goal of peace and, to that end, to apply their political will to the search for ways leading to dialogue and understanding to settle their current differences. This constructive and open attitude will largely determine the success of the peace initiatives."

It goes on to issue a formal invitation to the five Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Central America to hold a working meeting at Panama on 28, 29 and 30 May. We hope and believe that this invitation will be accepted by all. We consider that it would be unwise to try to cut across this apparently agreed meeting. Indeed, we hope that nothing said in this Council will make that meeting more difficult.

50. What we should try to do is help the Contadora Group over the difficulties which its members encountered at their last meeting. These seem to centre on the form of the next meeting in Panama. The Contadora Group bulletin referred to discussion both in working groups and to plenary meetings. My delegation does not know precisely what this means in practice, but it sounds a judicious mix.

51. Everybody admits that there is, in the words of the Contadora Group bulletin, a "Central American conflict" or problem. We hope the countries of the area will be able to agree to discuss their conflicts or problems in multilateral talks or, if you will, plenary meetings. It would seem to us sad if all the countries in the area were to assemble in one place but were not able to meet each other in one room. At the same time it has been the experience of my delegation that there has never been a multilateral international meeting which has not been supported by bilateral discussions on the side. Why should the situation in Central America be an exception to this normal practice?

52. Indeed, if I heard correctly, the representatives of Panama, Venezuela and Colombia each in his own way recommended regional solutions to Central American problems. The Colombian representative [*2435th meeting*] spoke of bringing all the countries of the region to the table. He sought global solutions while in no way being opposed to bilateral negotiations. That, if I may say so, is the right path. We hope that the Council will add its authority to these wise words from the Contadora Group.

53. We have been impressed by some of the other suggestions that have emerged during the course of the debate. For example, the representative of Honduras said:

> "My country would be prepared, together with the other Central American countries, to conclude serious and responsible agreements guaranteeing that none of those countries will take any action to destabilize the internal order of other States." [*See 2431st meeting, para. 89.*]

That is an idea worth considering. Similarly, we were impressed by statements from the Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua [*2431st meeting*] that he had not come here looking for condemnations and that his Government would resist attempts to isolate it. We found attractive the view put forward by the representative of Guatemala [*2433rd meeting*] that Central American problems should have Central American solutions. Many speeches have referred to the background of poverty and deprivation in Central America. Clearly, social conditions are the seed-beds of politics. Finally, we were much struck by the concluding appeal of the representative of Costa Rica. I should like to repeat his words:

> "We do not believe that this Council should weaken subregional or regional mechanisms. Nor do we believe that the Council should, by issuing a mandate, limit the autonomy of the Secretary-General....
>
> "The Council should leave the initiative in the hands of the four Latin American Foreign Ministers." [*See 2435th meeting, paras. 62 and 63.*]

54. It may be objected that there are questions of face involved for one or more delegations. That is, unfortunately, one of the by-products of so much public speechifying. It was with this thought in mind that my delegation threw out the suggestion at the close of our last debate, on 29 March [*2427th meeting*], that there might be a role for the Secretary-General. We believe that if all the countries in the area would declare that in principle they were ready for multilateral dialogue but found difficulty in agreeing on certain modalities, such as the precise agenda, the date and place for a meeting and so on, it might then be reasonable to ask the Secretary-General, through his personal mediation, to sort out, in consultation with the parties, such modalities. We do not think it is reasonable to throw the whole problem at the Secretary-General without any agreement between the parties as to what the problem is or what his role is to be. That puts him in an impossible position and tends to reduce his usefulness in the future. As I say, it is another matter if he is asked by all the parties to undertake a limited task after they have agreed in principle.

55. With these considerations in mind, my delegation feels that the most important elements for the Security Council to emphasize are the reaffirmation of the principles set out in the Contadora Group bulletin and support for the further efforts of the Contadora Group to make progress through multilateral dialogue, which will permit bilateral talks on the side. If we can agree at least on this we may in a small way have done something to help the next meeting of the Contadora Group at the end of this month.

56. Mr. LIANG Yufan (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): Mr. President, at the outset I wish in the name of the Chinese delegation warmly to welcome you to New York. I have no doubt that, equipped as you are with your outstanding qualities and extensive political and diplomatic experience, you will distinguish yourself in your important role as the representative of your country on the Security Council and contribute positively to the Council's work. Meanwhile I am pleased to see you presiding over the Council this month and wish to offer you my hearty congratulations. I would also like to take this opportunity to express appreciation to your predecessor, Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick of the United States, for her presidency last month.

57. We have listened carefully to the statements made by the Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua, Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann, and by the representatives of other countries. The Chinese delegation set out its views on the Central America issue at some length during the Council's debates on 29 March 1982 [*2339th meeting*] and again on 24 March 1983 [*2422nd meeting*]. I will recapitulate briefly.

58. Since the Council's previous consideration of this issue the situation around Nicaragua, far from improving, has continued to deteriorate. This has led to increased tension in the whole of Central America, thereby alarming the international community. The Chinese Government and people are greatly concerned over this development.

59. As has been pointed out by a number of representatives, the prolonged tension and unrest in Central America can be traced to various profound factors, domestic as well as external. Meddling by outside forces, especially the attempts of the super-Powers to extend their rivalry to Central America, has multiplied the complexity of the issue and constitutes an underlying cause of the present tension in the region. One super-Power has felt free to intervene on the pretext that the struggles of the peoples of the region for political rights and social reforms are allegedly a "threat" to its own "security and prosperity". It has stepped up military assistance programmes in the region on the plea of stemming outside intervention. Such a policy can only inflame the contradictions in Central America and aggravate tension there.

60. China opposes any outside interference from whatever quarter, under any pretext or in any form, in the affairs of the Central American States. We are of the view that in order to ease the tension in Central America it is imperative to stop all outside intervention, especially super-Power intervention or intimidation. The independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Nicaragua and other Central American States must be respected and the affairs of the Central American States should be left to the peoples of the respective States.

61. We would like to reaffirm our hope that the differences and disputes existing among various Central American States will be settled peacefully and rationally without outside intervention and in conformity with the norms of international relations enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, especially the principles of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, non-aggression and the peaceful settlement of disputes through negotiations.

62. Recently Latin American countries, especially those of the Contadora Group, have actively worked towards an easing of the tension in Central America by pushing the parties to the conference table with a view to reaching a peaceful solution there. Those endeavours have been welcomed by the peoples of Central America and widely acclaimed and supported by the international community. We whole-heartedly hope that they will achieve positive results.

63. Some countries have requested the United Nations to play a role in helping to bring about a solution in Central America. We lend our support to all efforts conducive to the easing and elimination of tension in the region.

64. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Allow me at the outset, Sir, to welcome you as President of the Security Council for this month and to express my conviction that under your guidance the Council will successfully discharge the many tasks facing it. I should like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the representative of the United States for having guided the work of the Council last month.

65. The Soviet delegation would also like to express sincere condolences on the recent demise of our colleague the representative of Mongolia, Mr. Tsogtyn Narkhuu.

66. The Security Council has again been urgently convened at the request of the Government of Nicaragua. The reason is the continuing expanding acts of aggression against that country.

67. The Soviet delegation, like everyone in this chamber and many beyond these precincts, listened carefully to the cogent and constructive statement made by the Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua, Miguel D'Escoto Brockmann. The many facts he gave in his statement show incontrovertibly that a second, even more dangerous, stage in the direct armed intervention against his country has begun. The Minister's statement stressed that that intervention is being directed, financed and armed by the United States. All the facts that the Council has at its disposal testify to that.

68. Further, what we have here is an unusual situation in which the actual country being accused does not deny, but in fact virtually admits, the charges hurled against it. Direct evidence that the United States is grossly interfering in the internal affairs of Nicaragua is contained in the well-known statements made recently by the President of the United States. The statement made by the United States representative in the Security Council [*2431st meeting*] also confirmed that interventionist policy of Washington *vis-à-vis* Nicaragua. In fact that statement did not even attempt to refute the fact that the acts of aggression prepared and perpetrated against Nicaragua were the work of the United States acting, as has often happened in the past, through other countries and using other hands.

69. I should like to draw the attention of Council members to the following point. The Nicaraguan statement contained nothing about the internal system of the United States. At the same time, official representatives of the United States, including at the highest level, consider it quite normal for them to discuss the exclusively internal affairs of Nicaragua. Furthermore, they cast doubt on the legitimacy of the Government of that country merely because its policies are not to the liking of Washington. Is that not an eloquent example of direct interference in the internal affairs of a sovereignty State?

70. We come across such examples literally every step of the way. Stating its preparedness to negotiate with Nicaragua, the United States puts forward preconditions known to be unacceptable—for example, its demand that the Government of Nicaragua confirm its commitment to so-called pluralism and a mixed economy. It is not difficult to imagine how the United States Government would react if as a pre-condition of certain negotiations, there were to be a demand, for example, that the United States introduce a planned economy.

71. It is not a question here of Nicaragua's economic system. The fact is that one country wants to dictate to another what economic system it should have.

72. Something else is noteworthy. It was recently stated at the highest level in the United States that the former Somozist National Guards, well known for their bloody crimes against their own people and now being infiltrated by the United States into Nicaragua, are no more and no less than "freedom fighters". Apparently their direct armed intervention in Nicaragua, their acts of terror and violence, are virtually sanctified by all the canons of international law and order, while at the same time the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), for example, which has many times been recognized by the United Nations as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, is declared to be a terrorist organization. How many times have we heard it said that violence is inadmissible, that SWAPO is not entitled to carry on the struggle for liberation from the racist régime of Pretoria by all the means at its disposal, including the use of arms? This is a strange, perverted type of logic.

73. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned countries, held at New Delhi in March, quite rightly denounced

> "acts of aggression against Nicaragua, particularly the violation of its air space and territorial waters, utilization of the territory of foreign countries, in and out-

side the region, as bases for aggression and the training of counter-revolutionary forces, the commission of terrorist actions and sabotage, particularly the attacks of armed groups of ex-Somoza guards through its northern border, which had resulted in considerable loss of life and property, as well as measures of economic pressure at the international level. These were considered part of a deliberate plan to harass and destabilize that country, as has been acknowledged by a foreign Power." [*See S/15675 and Corr.1 and 2, annex, section I, para. 136.*]

74. It is clear that it is precisely this dangerous policy of the United States, which seeks by all possible means to prevent peoples, including the peoples of Central America, from determining their own future, which shows how well justified are the fears of the Secretary-General when he said in his annual report on the work of the Organization: "We are perilously near to a new international anarchy."[2]

75. The Soviet Union rejects the attempts of imperialist forces to force their will on the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean, to try to repress their desire for freedom and national independence. We decisively oppose the threats, acts of provocation and pressure against Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada and other countries of the Latin American continent.

76. Speaking in this chamber, the Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua quite justifiably demanded that the United States cease its "undeclared war", as he put it, against his country. We fully support that just, legitimate demand. Despite the dangerous situation that has arisen, the statement of the Nicaraguan Minister was permeated with faith in the strength of his people. At the same time it contained many constructive and positive elements. He stressed that the main purpose of Nicaragua's coming to the Security Council was a desire to attain a peaceful political settlement of this dangerous situation. The Minister officially stated that his Government was prepared to engage in honest, constructive dialogue. The Soviet delegation completely supports that approach.

77. Pursuant to its policy of principle, the Soviet Union advocates the just settlement of international disputes at the negotiating table. As has been stressed by the Minister for Foreign Affairs on the Soviet Union, Mr. Andrei Gromyko:

"The Soviet Union has stated many times that it is firmly convinced that the strengthening of peace in Central America and the Caribbean is possible only on the basis of respect for the sovereign right of each people to determine, without interference from outside, its own future and to manage its own natural resources. We commend the proposals of Venezuela, Mexico, Nicaragua and certain other countries, which seek a political settlement by developing a dialogue based on equality."

78. We believe that the continuing disquieting situation surrounding Nicaragua calls for constant attention. The seriousness of the situation is borne out by the mere fact that the Council was convened to discuss the matter last year and has twice been convened to discuss it this year. It is therefore the Council's duty to follow closely the development of the situation and to take all necessary measures to safeguard the security, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that country.

79. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of the United States, who has asked to speak.

80. Mrs. KIRKPATRICK (United States of America): I should like to reply briefly to certain of the assertions made by the representative of the Soviet Union.

81. I should like to note, first, the stunning cynicism of his remarks, because it is indeed stunningly cynical for the representative of the Soviet Union, whose country undertook to flood the region of Central America with heavy weapons which had never been seen there before, and with an extraordinary assortment of military advisers from countries which have in common a particular relationship with his own country, a relationship which is characterized by the hegemony of the Soviet Union *vis-à-vis* its various client States. They are the people who have introduced heavy weapons into Central America. They are the people who have undermined economic progress and development in the region, which were proceeding at quite a steady rate before the deliberate efforts at militarization and destabilization of the region.

82. The suggestion was also made by the representative of the Soviet Union that the United States was seeking to determine the internal affairs of the Government of Nicaragua and that it should be indifferent to—should "bug off" from any concern about—the organization of the politics and economics of Nicaragua. I should just like to say that the United States does not attempt to influence in inappropriate ways the organization of any country's economic system. We hope that all countries in the world will organize their economic systems in such a fashion that they will be productive of goods and will take care of the well-being of their peoples; but that we regard as wholly their decision. We also regard the form of government of other countries as their decision. We cannot, however, be indifferent to gross violations of human rights by other Governments, and the Charter of the United Nations does not suggest that we should be.

83. The Charter in fact identifies respect for human freedom and other human rights as central concerns of the Organization and of its Member States. The United States also belongs to some other organizations and takes cognizance of obligations which are contracted *vis-à-vis* other organizations. We have noted here, for example, that the Government of Nicaragua undertook some solemn commitments to the Organization of American States (OAS) concerning the kind of Government which it would organize were it in fact to become the Government of Nicaragua; it undertook commitments to organize democratic institutions, to provide its people with democratic institutions and respect for their human rights, and rule of law—

regular, civil rule of law, quite specifically. We have suggested that those commitments have not been fulfilled and that, since the ruling clique of Nicaragua secured the assistance of the OAS in its rise to power on the basis of those commitments, it raises some questions about the bases of their Government.

84. The representative of the Soviet Union also referred to—"bloody crimes" of the United States I think was his phrase. The phrase reminded me of an item which I read yesterday in a European newspaper concerning the death of some 3,000 Afghan civilians last week due to bombing of civilian populations by the nearly 150,000—I think it now is—Soviet occupation troops in that beleaguered country. The article that I read also stated that neither the Security Council nor any other body of the United Nations had taken any note of this mass slaughter of Afghans, and I should like, while we are talking about "bloody crimes", to draw attention to the suffering of the Afghan people.

85. I should finally like to say that it has been suggested by the Soviet representative and some others that there should be and that they support regional efforts to achieve peace. I would emphasize that that is, of course, precisely I think, what we all support. If they support regional efforts to achieve peace then there is indeed unanimity, because certainly the rest of us support regional efforts to achieve peace. The United States, for its part, stands ready at any time to support any agreements designed to end the importation of all arms and foreign military advisers into the region—any agreement to do so which is verifiable and indeed can be verified—and to support any agreement which provides for the mutual respect of borders by all countries in the region, non-interference in the affairs of one another and an end to all efforts at destabilization.

86. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I still have three speakers on my list. Unless the Council decides otherwise, I shall close the list. I shall, when the occasion arises, call upon those members who wish to speak in exercise of the right of reply. The next speaker is the representative of the Dominican Republic. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

87. Mr. KNIPPING VICTORIA (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I should first of all like to express the pleasure of the delegation of the Dominican Republic at seeing you conducting the Council's business. With you presiding over the work of the Council and in view of your acknowledged professional ability and your undeniable diplomatic talents, the Council is guaranteed a successful search for just solutions conducive to peace and harmony among peoples. We also should like to express our gratitude to the representative of the United States, Mrs. Kirkpatrick, for the efficient and dynamic way she conducted the Council's business last month. My delegation also wishes to thank all the members of the Council for their kindness in allowing the delegation of the Dominican Republic to speak during this series of meetings, convened at the request of Nicaragua.

88. The delegation of the Dominican Republic again comes before the Security Council to express its very great concern at the worsening situation in Central America. We are similarly concerned to note that since the Council's meetings in March no significant progress has been made towards resolving this crisis; rather, the latest developments show that the situation has deteriorated, despite the efforts made to alleviate tension in the area.

89. This latter observation should prompt us to wonder whether it might not be timely to take a self-critical look at the failures of the Organization to promote, foster and take effective measures for the peaceful settlement of disputes in accordance with the guiding principles of the Charter, justice and international law.

90. We again reaffirm our support for creating a climate conducive to conciliation among the parties to the conflict so that through dialogue and negotiation there can be thorough scrutiny of the social and economic causes that are giving rise to instability in the region. Now, in order to promote this climate of confidence which is essential for bringing the parties to the negotiating table, it is imperative that both the parties directly involved and the other members of the international community should refrain from taking any action or adopting any policy that might increase tension.

91. The Dominican Republic's delegation most fervently appeals to all the parties committed to peace in the region to seek the mechanisms they deem fit to halt such bloodshed among brothers, so much suffering and so much pain. We must redouble our efforts to find peace through the means of peaceful settlement afforded us by international law.

92. In this context, we wish to express our gratitude for the work which is being done to bring about peace in the Central American region by the Contadora Group—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela. That Group's work greatly encourages and is very much appreciated by the Dominican Government, and we reaffirm our continued readiness to make an effective contribution in the search for peaceful solutions.

93. We have been following with particular interest the efforts of those brother countries, and we call on them to use to the full their negotiating abilities for the benefit of Latin American brotherhood. If, as we hope, these initiatives lead to a consensus in the Central American region through which the foundations can be laid for a just, viable and lasting peace, the Group will have rendered an inestimable service to the cause of inter-American solidarity and earned not only the support of the entire American continent but also the gratitude of the international community as a whole.

94. Finally, we reaffirm our conviction that any political settlement of the upheavals in Central America must be

based on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, particularly those concerning non-intervention, the self-determination of peoples, the prohibition of the use of force or the threat of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of States, and the settlement of international disputes and conflicts by peaceful means.

95. Mr. NATORF (Poland): Since this is my first statement this month in the Security Council, I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of this body. We are convinced that your diplomatic skill will help us to deal effectively with the difficult tasks before us now and those facing us in the future. I should like also to take this opportunity to express our appreciation of the way in which the representative of the United States, Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick, guided our deliberations during the month of April.

96. My delegation presented the position of the Polish Government on the Nicaraguan complaint to the Security Council and on the serious increase of tensions in Central America in its statement of 28 March 1983 [*2425th meeting*]. Since then the situation has not improved; it has even deteriorated.

97. We followed with great attention the statements made on 9 May [*2431st meeting*] and 16 May [*2433rd meeting*] by Mr. Miguel D'Escoto Brockmann, Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua, describing the armed attacks on his country from the territory of Honduras, which were openly supported by United States Government circles.

98. My Government is deeply concerned at the build up of tensions in the Central American region in general and on the Nicaragua-Honduras and Nicaragua-Costa Rica frontiers in particular. Open and covert aggression against Nicaragua may soon lead to open military conflicts, threatening international peace and security. This is the ominous, albeit familiar, scenario used against the Nicaraguan revolution: infiltration of mercenaries financed and trained by some United States agencies, and economic and propaganda aggression, using a neighbouring country for this activity. Unless checked, this might lead to a conflict with incalculable consequences.

99. We have more than once welcomed the readiness of the Nicaraguan Government to negotiate a solution to the conflict. This readiness was reaffirmed by Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann in his statement of 9 May. We have also noted with satisfaction that the four countries of the Contadora Group have taken constructive action aimed at preventing any further escalation. My Government is encouraged by Nicaragua's acceptance of the Group's latest proposals. This confirms the peaceful and constructive foreign policy pursued by that country both in general and in the Central American region in particular.

100. It is the strong view of my Government that the Council should undertake decisive efforts to bring about a negotiated, peaceful solution of the problems which have been created on Nicaragua's borders. The first step in this direction is to adopt a resolution reaffirming the right of Nicaragua to live in peace and security, free from outside intervention and the threat or use of force. The Council should warn all concerned to refrain from open or covert interference in Nicaraguan internal affairs. New possibilities should be opened for dialogue and a negotiated solution, with the assistance of the Contadora Group and the United Nations.

101. Those ideas are expressed in the informal draft resolution which is being drawn up by the non-aligned members of the Security Council. The time has come to adopt an appropriate resolution on acceptable and necessary action to overcome the present crisis.

102. Before I conclude my statement I wish to make two further brief comments. First, it is essential that the Council take action in this case, since the accumulation of political, economic and social problems affecting Central America constitutes a dangerous threat to regional and international security. We share the view that these problems have nothing to do with East-West relations. Secondly, we wish to commend the position taken by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries on this issue, both in the Extraordinary Ministerial Meeting at Managua in January and in its Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government, held at New Delhi in March. It is also with appreciation that we follow the efforts of the Governments of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela to find a solution to the problems that affect Central American countries.

103. My delegation hopes that strict adherence to the Charter of the United Nations and a sense of the serious responsibility which falls on the Council will guide us on the path of peace and justice in this case of such vital importance not only to Nicaragua but to peace and stability in the entire region.

104. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Greece. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

105. Mr. DOUNTAS (Greece): It gives me great pleasure to join the speakers who have preceded me and to extend to you, Sir, the congratulations of my delegation on your assumption of the office of President of the Security Council and express our appreciation of the manner in which you have conducted the Council's deliberations this month. I feel confident that the Council will continue to benefit from your experience, ability and diplomatic skill in its consideration of the issue before it. I should like also to take this opportunity to express our appreciation of the exemplary way in which your predecessor, Mrs. Kirkpatrick, representative of the United States, conducted the Council's proceedings last month.

106. The reason I asked to participate in the current debate is that it concerns respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of a Member State of this Organization. This is a matter on which, as is well known, Greece is extremely sensitive, since respect for and application of

the principles enshrined in Article 2 of the Charter is a cornerstone of the foreign policy of the Greek Government. Moreover, Greece is dedicated to the principle of the peaceful solution of all international differences and advocates the implementation of this principle in every case.

107. My country has friendly relations with all the countries involved in the problems which are so sadly disturbing Central America and, in accordance with its attachment to the principles I have mentioned, would like to voice its support for the peaceful solution of these problems.

108. In this spirit, the Greek Government gives its full encouragement and support to the initiative undertaken by the Contadora Group and expresses its earnest hope that this Group will be able to find peaceful solutions, to the benefit of all the parties concerned. It is also our hope that the appropriate organs of the United Nations will continue to follow closely the whole matter at present before the Security Council.

109. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of the Soviet Union wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

110. Mr. TROYANOVSKY (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): I should like to say a few words in connection with the recent statement of the representative of the United States. Unfortunately, as often happens, having made her statement, she has abandoned us. This has been called "hit-and-run tactics".

111. The representative of the United States dredged up what in the United States is called a red herring. She is a great specialist in that. I wish to point out that her statement contained a number of allegations which have nothing to do with the actual facts, in particular, allegations that the Soviet Union is interfering in the affairs of Central America. She said, for example, that the reason for the lack of economic progress in that region was interference by the Soviet Union.

112. That was said by the representative of a country which for decades dominated that region and bled its peoples white. I should like in that respect to quote from a statement by General Smedley Butler of the United States Marine Corps:

> "I helped make Mexico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba decent places for the National City Bank boys to collect revenue in. I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras ripe for the American fruit companies in 1903. Looking back on it, I might have given Al Capone a few hints."*

* Quoted in English by the speaker.

113. I should like to touch on another question. The United States representative said that the main concern of the United States in Nicaragua was to support and defend human rights, but it seems that the defence of human rights is being carried out with the assistance of the Somozist National Guards. Apparently these are the best defenders of human rights that can be found in that region. I did not speak about the crimes of the United States in this case; I spoke about the crimes of the Somoza Guards.

114. The statement of the United States representative contained some other allegations, too, but I do not think it would be right to answer them because their purpose was to divert the Council's attention from the very serious and important matter which we are discussing.

115. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of Guatemala asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply and I invite him to take a place at the Council table in order to do so.

116. Mr. QUIÑONES-AMÉZQUITA (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): May I begin by thanking the Council for its kindness in allowing me to speak for the second time. Rest assured that I shall not take up much of the Council's time and that my statement will be brief.

117. I listened closely to the statement made by the Minister for External Relations, Mr. D'Escoto Brockmann, when, two days ago [*2433rd meeting*], after my statement, he described as false the assertion in the Guatemalan speech [*ibid.*] that in Panama there had been a meeting of Central American Foreign Ministers at which there had been discussion of some of the problems to be included in the agenda to be drawn up and of the appropriateness of a comprehensive approach to the problems. Since, semantically, falsehood means lack of truth or authenticity, in order to clear up any misunderstanding about our position, may I say that there was, indeed, a meeting of Central American Foreign Ministers—a meeting which was not attended by Nicaragua—and the Central American Foreign Ministers made a joint statement, with which perhaps because of some error Minister D'Escoto Brockmann is not familiar. That statement read as follows:

> "Having met in Panama City, the Foreign Ministers of the Republics of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras, in response to the kind invitation extended by the Foreign Ministers of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, the countries which make up the so-called Contadora Group, issue the following joint communiqué".

I would draw the Council's attention to the fact that this joint communiqué says at the beginning "meeting", so there was indeed a meeting. It goes on:

> "1. On Tuesday, 19 April of this year, we came to this city, prompted by the highest spirit of Central Americanism and inspired by our sincere desire for peace and concerned by the regional conflict, in search of solutions capable of restoration of harmony and security to the area.

"2. The meeting was convened for the purpose of continuing the consultations initiated by the Foreign Ministers of the Contadora Group with each of the Central American countries during the brief, successive visits that they paid to the Governments of the five Central American republics on the 12th and 13th of this month.

"3. A relevant occurrence prior to the beginning of the meeting was a discussion of the methodology to be adopted in carrying out the consultations on the regional problems.

"4. As a result of the consultations at that meeting, the participating Governments will jointly discuss, at a forthcoming meeting, the procedure and the agenda that will serve as a basis for the talks aimed at seeking constructive and peaceful solutions guaranteeing harmonious coexistence within the framework of respect for the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States and the self-determination of peoples.

"5. We reaffirm our readiness to continue to make efforts to achieve effective understanding among the Central American countries, and in that spirit we are prepared to meet next May.

"6. Lastly, we record our appreciation for the valuable conciliatory work done by the Foreign Ministers of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, and we express thanks for the hospitality extended to us by the Government of Panama. 21 April 1983."

118. It is also worth making clear that the points covered in our statement, as well as those agreed to by the Foreign Ministers, are the same as those referred to by the representative of Panama in his statement yesterday morning, from which I quote the following:

"As a result of that trip, the Foreign Ministers said that among the matters which require the most attention the following should be mentioned:

" 'the arms race, arms control and reduction, the transfer of armaments, the presence of military advisers and other forms of outside military assistance, actions aimed at destabilizing the internal order of other countries, threats and verbal aggression, warlike incidents and frontier tensions, the violation of human rights and individual and social guarantees, and the grave economic and social problems which are at the heart of the region's present crisis'" [*see 2434th meeting, para. 54*].

119. In other words, where is the falsehood? There was indeed a meeting of Foreign Ministers and there was indeed discussion of the points that we have mentioned. I admit it should be made clear that, although Nicaragua's delegation was in Panama, it did not take part in the joint declaration. But, just because Nicaragua did not participate, it cannot be said that there was no meeting of Foreign Ministers—all the more so since Guatemala did not say "all" the Foreign Ministers.

120. The impestuousness and flippancy shown by the Foreign Minister of Nicaragua in describing these statements as false I can attribute only to his nervous reaction caused by Nicaragua's difficult situation. I would advise him to be calm and collected. Let him not see ghosts where there are none; let him see no tricks where none is intended. Imprudence is not a good counsellor.

121. My country wishes to take part in a multilateral dialogue in all good faith, a frank dialogue to seek solutions so that there should be no use of force. Oppressed peoples are different from free peoples in that the former appeal to strength and not to law. Strength has to be sought in the conscience of our peoples and the principles of international law. Our desire is to help end a situation of violence in Central America which destroys the flower of our youth, ruins the life of our nations and calls for superhuman efforts. Let us seek our own identity without foreign interference.

122. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Nicaragua, who wishes to speak in right of reply.

123. Mr. CHAMORRO MORA (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Bearing in mind your appeal for brevity, Mr. President, and the time we have spent in various meetings discussing this item in the Council, I have no intention of speaking at length, but I have a few brief points to make to define or clear up a few aspects which may lead to better understanding among our colleagues in the Council.

124. We are aware—and that is why we shall be brief—that both our colleagues in the Council and the members of the international community are perfectly aware of who is the aggressor and who the victim in this complaint brought by our Government. We are also aware that the members of the Council and of the international community know very well who in Central America is usurping the power of the people and who in Central America governs with the people. We are further aware that the members of the Council and the international community fully understand why our Government and our revolution have to have recourse to the Council in the cases of invasion that we have denounced on two occasions at the end of one month in this very forum.

125. Nicaragua, as a member of the Security Council, believes that it is the inherent obligation of this body in the first instance to ensure the maintenance of international peace and security. We believe that is an unavoidable responsibility of this body. In this regard, as members of this organ we must make the proper and necessary contributions not only in this particular case that affects Nicaragua, but in any situation where that is necessary. Our country has therefore come to the proper body, to the organ which the very Charter of the United Nations affords us, for recourse as a sovereign country. We have therefore avoided going to the premises of the State

Department to make alleged complaints concerning alleged arms trafficking in Central America and from Nicaragua to other countries in the region.

126. I believe that all our colleagues in the Council and in the international community know very well what I am talking about. They know very well that abut a year ago, when General Alexander Haig was the Secretary of State, a situation arose in the State Department in which an attempt was made to provide evidence to justify to his own public opinion at home and to international public opinion abroad his warmongering attitude towards Nicaragua. They took a young Nicaraguan captured in El Salvador and tried to use him to demonstrate that there was clear reason to say that Nicaragua was involved in arms trafficking and assisting the Salvadorian patriots. We know what the outcome of all this was. We can all perfectly well remember that the United States press interviewed the young Nicaraguan after one year of imprisonment, and he stated how he was taken to the United States, how he was taken to the State Department and how pressure was brought to bear on him to make him state something that was not so.

127. In closing, I wish to make it quite clear, for the record, that the statements of the representative of Guatemala once again confirm the correctness of the statements made by our Minister for External Relations yesterday [*2435th meeting*]. He said, accurately, that there had not been a meeting of Central American Foreign Ministers in Panama, unless Costa Rica, Honduras, El Salvador and Guatemala claim that only they are Central America. Nicaragua is and intends to remain part of Central America, and we understand that Panama and, indeed, Belize are part of Central America. We have to define our premises and we have to be clear about our concepts, particularly when dealing with the geography of a region. To sum up, these statements made by the representative of Guatemala bear out the truth of what I once again bring before the Security Council for consideration, that there was no meeting of Ministers of Central Africa. If it is decided to have a meeting of four Ministers, from four countries which form part of Central America, that is the sovereign right of each and every one of them, but it does not mean that there was a meeting of Central American countries.

128. Similarly, this is not merely an assertion on the part of Nicaragua. I believe most, if not all, the speeches made by representatives of the countries members of the Contadora Group have made it clear to the Council that what took place in Panama was a second round of consultations, in which the Ministers of Central America were in Panama at the disposal of the Contadora Ministers. In other words, the Contadora Ministers met individually and bilaterally with each of our Foreign Ministers—a stage begun previously at a working session at which the Contadora Ministers had gone to each of the countries of the region in order to establish the same mechanism of consultation.

129. I think I have made absolutely clear what the position of my Government is and also just how true and correct our Minister's statement yesterday was.

130. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I apologize to the representative of Nicaragua if I ever gave the impression that I wanted delegations to be brief. I do not remember asking delegations to be brief. On the contrary, I think it is normal and useful that on such a serious and important matter as this all delegations should speak from their heart and their conscience and say what they really believe. In the name of the Council I thank all delegations who spoke and said everything they considered ought to be said.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

NOTES

[1] A/38/68, annex.

[2] See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 1* (A/37/1), p. 1.

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UNITED NATIONS

SECURITY COUNCIL
OFFICIAL RECORDS

THIRTY-EIGHTH YEAR

2437th MEETING: 19 MAY 1983

NEW YORK

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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

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The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council*. The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2437th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 19 May 1983, at 11 a.m.

President: Mr. UMBA di LUTETE (Zaire).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2437)

1. Adoption of the agenda.

2. Letter dated 5 May 1983 from the representative of Nicaragua on the Security Council addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15746).

The meeting was called to order at 11.45 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Letter dated 5 May 1983 from the representative of Nicaragua on the Security Council addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/15746)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings devoted to this item [*2431st to 2436th meetings*], I invite the representative of Honduras to take a place at the Council table. I also invite the representatives of Algeria, Argentina, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Greece, Grenada, Guatemala, the Islamic Republic of Iran, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mali, Mauritius, Mexico, Panama, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles, Spain, the Syrian Arab Republic, Uganda, Venezuela and Viet Nam to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Ortez Colindres (Honduras) took a place at the Council table; Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Muñiz (Argentina), Mr. Albán Holguín (Colombia), Mr. Mangouta (Congo), Mr. Zumbado Jiménez (Costa Rica), Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. Knipping Victoria (Dominican Republic), Mr. Rosales-Rivera (El Salvador), Mr. Ibrahim (Ethiopia), Mr. Dountas (Greece), Mr. Taylor (Grenada), Mr. Quiñones-Amézquita (Guatemala), Mr. Rajaie-Khorassani (Islamic Republic of Iran), Mr. Vongsaly (Lao People's Democratic Republic), Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya), Mr. Traoré (Mali), Mr. Maudave (Mauritius), Mr. Muñoz Ledo (Mexico), Mr. Ozores Typaldos (Panama), Mr. Cassandra (Sao Tome and Principe), Ms. Gonthier (Seychelles), Mr. de Piniés (Spain), Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Otunnu (Uganda), Mr. Martini Urdaneta (Venezuela) and Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I should like also to inform the members of the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of India and Yugoslavia in which they asked to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Krishnan (India) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The member of the Council have before them a draft resolution in document S/15770, sponsored by Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Togo, Zaire and Zimbabwe. The Council also has before it document S/15771, containing the text of a letter dated 13 May 1983 addressed to the President of the Security Council by the Deputy Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua.

4. The first speaker is the representative of India. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

5. Mr. KRISHNAN (India): It is my pleasant duty at the outset to extend to you, Sir, the sincere felicitations of my delegation on your assumption of the office of President of this body for the month of May. Your country and my own enjoy traditionally close and cordial relations. We take special pride in seeing in the chair the representative of a fellow non-aligned country. We are confident that, with your rich experience and diplomatic acumen, you will be able to guide the proceedings of the Council in a constructive and purposeful manner, not merely in the course of the present debate but during the remaining period of your stewardship of the Council.

6. For the second time in less than two months Nicaragua has felt obliged to come before the Council pointing to the serious situation that exists within and around its borders as a consequence of insurgent activity. The Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua, Mr. Miguel D'Escoto Brockmann, has presented Nicaragua's case before the Council [*2431st meeting*] in telling terms and with his customary lucidity. We share the anguish of Nicaragua, a non-aligned country with which we have very friendly and co-operative relations. It is clear that the situation in Central America has continued to deteriorate, carrying within it the seeds of a possible wider conflagration in the region, evoking ever-increasing concern and distress. During the debate on this item last March [*2420th to 2427th meetings*], a larger number of delegations gave expression to their anxiety over developments in the region. During the present debate this month several delegations have given further expression to ever-growing concern.

7. The provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and the objectives and principles which guide the countries of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries clearly stipulate that every State must enjoy the right to chart its own course, to pursue its own political and social system and to determine the destiny of its people without any form of external pressure, interference or intervention. That right was reaffirmed recently by the heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at their Seventh Conference, held at New Delhi in March, when they declared the right of any State to freely choose its own political, social and economic system to be of paramount importance. In the course of its most recent statement in the Council, on 25 March [*2423rd meeting*], my delegation had occasion to apprise the Council *in extenso* of the pronouncements made in the context of the situation in Central America by the seventh summit conference of non-aligned countries, and I need not repeat those again today.

8. It is an established lesson of history, particularly the history of the Central American region, that peace and stability can be built only on the basis of an acceptance of shared aspirations and the affording of full scope to a pluralism of political values and systems. It cannot be served by the exclusion of one or another State from the mainstream of regional development on one pretext or another. The Government of India believes that the present situation in Central America must not be allowed to deteriorate further, for if it did it could escalate into a horrible conflict, which nobody wants and in which all would be losers. It is incumbent upon the Council to ensure that this does not happen. The path to peace is through dialogue and negotiations.

9. We believe in this context that the efforts of the Contadora Group to build further upon its initiative to promote peace in the region through a process of dialogue constitute a step in the right direction. We welcome the positive response of all States in the region to these efforts. The information bulletin issued after the last meeting of the Group at Panama City on 11 and 12 May [*S/15762, annex*] launched an appeal for scrupulous observance of the principles that should govern relations among States in the region. Essentially these are: self-determination and non-interference in the affairs of other States, the obligation not to allow the territory of a State to be used for the commission of acts of aggression against other States, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the prohibition of the threat or use of force to resolve conflict.

10. It is our sincere hope that the States of the region will heed this call and co-operate fully with the Contadora Group in its efforts to de-escalate tensions in the area and to bring about peace, stability and co-operation in Central America. We are also confident that resolute action now by the Security Council would provide much-needed support and encouragement for the Contadora Group in its noble efforts.

11. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The next speaker is the representative of Yugosvia. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

12. Mr. GOLOB (Yugoslavia): I wish to join previous speakers, Sir, in congratulating you on the assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. We are convinced that you, as a representative of a friendly and non-aligned country, will provide the leadership necessary for successful work by the Council. I should like also to convey our appreciation and congratulations to Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick, the representative of the United States, who so ably presided over the Council's proceedings in the course of the month of April.

13. The issue of the complaint by Nicaragua has remained unresolved by the Security Council. The exhaustive debate held in the Council in March outlined the principal problems and, at the same time, pointed to the differences burdening the efforts aimed at solving them.

14. The Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua, Mr. Miguel D'Escoto Brockmann, asked clearly and eloquently at a recent Council meeting for dialogue, a search for peace and a political solution.

15. We wish to give our support to the Council's endeavours to enhance the existing efforts aimed at a peaceful, political solution of the dispute, and we believe that the situation in Central America should not be allowed to deteriorate any further.

16. We believe that the solution of the problems of Central America, a region deeply shaken by political controversies, social unrest and economic problems, can be achieved only through negotiation and respect for the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. In this context, the initiative of the countries referred to as the Contadora Group is invaluable. Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela earlier elaborated a framework for a political solution based on the Charter and the principles of non-alignment. That framework deserves the full support of all involved and all the interested parties, as well

as the international community at large. The perception and action of the members of the Contadora Group are particularly valuable since they belong to the same region and are close to the problems facing Central America today. They have proceeded from existing realities and proposed a comprehensive, political, peaceful solution based on negotiations and on justified demands for national and political emancipation, taking into account the historical necessities of development.

17. Only last week, the Foreign Ministers of Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela, in an information bulletin [*ibid.*], repeated their call for observance of the principles of self-determination, non-interference and respect for territorial integrity. They also underlined the obligation of all States not to allow their territory to be used for purposes of aggression against others and called for the peaceful solution of the conflicts and the rejection of the threat or use of force to resolve them. They appealed to the Central American countries to contribute to the cause of peace and pledge their political will to search for dialogue and understanding. Moreover, they have arranged for another meeting at the end of May.

18. Yugoslavia gives it full support to those efforts of the Contadora Group. We believe these are the premises from which to proceed to halt further deterioration of the situation, eliminate foreign interference, prevent the transformation of that region into an area of big-Power and bloc rivalry and achieve peace in that troubled region.

19. As I have said, we are deeply concerned by the developments in Central America and the ever greater threat—now even through incursions of armed groups—to the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and inhindered development of Nicaragua. Nicaragua is in the Central American and the Caribbean area, where increased pressures and foreign interference threaten to turn the region into a dangerous focus of crisis, with far-reaching consequences.

20. Differences in political systems are, in our view, an inherent feature of the contemporary world, and efforts to transform them by foreign intervention and the imposition of foreign models by any side always endanger peace. We support the people of Nicaragua in its determination to consolidate its independence on the basis of the authentic principles of the policy of non-alignment, outside bloc confrontation and the struggle for spheres of influence and domination.

21. The Seventh Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held last March at New Delhi, pointed to the danger of perceiving the situation in Central America within the context of East-West confrontation. It reaffirmed the need to implement the principles of the policy of non-alignment, particularly the right of countries to choose freely their political, social and economic systems. It also called for respect for the principle of non-interference and non-intervention. The authentic principles of non-alignment continue to be the basic criteria underlying Yugoslavia's attitude to the problems of this and other regions. Therefore, we oppose any kind of pressure or interference in the internal affairs of the countries of Latin America, Central America and the Caribbean.

22. The draft resolution submitted by the non-aligned countries members of the Security Council—Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Togo, Zaire and Zimbabwe—complements the efforts of the Contadora Group. It neither condemns nor recriminates but shows the way to search for peace. We feel that the draft resolution deserves the Council's support.

23. Finally, we feel that at a certain point in the future it may very well be necessary to draw upon the knowledge, authority and wisdom of the Secretary-General.

24. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): There are no more speakers on the list at this stage of the debate, but before proceeding to the vote on the draft resolution which is before us, I give the floor to the representative or Malta.

25. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): As the moment of decision is upon us, I wish briefly to compliment you, Sir, on your assiduously efficient work since your assumption of the presidency and also to praise the charming and dedicated performance of your predecessor.

26. In deference to the wishes expressed to us by a number of Latin American countries and in conformity with the dictates of diplomatic courtesy and practice, the sponsors of draft resolution S/15770 have agreed that the opening words of paragraph 4—"Calls upon"—should be replaced by "Urges". I believe that in the interest of factual accuracy it is also necessary that the date of the communiqué of the Contadora Group referred to in the sixth preambular paragraph should be "12 May 1983" instead of "13 May 1983". With those two exceptions, the text remains unchanged, and the sponsors commend it to the favourable attention and decision of the members of the Council.

27. As members are aware, the draft resolution is the outcome of a sustained collective effort. The text speaks for itself and takes into account to the extent possible all the views expressed in the course of our debate condensed into a positive formula which encourages dialogue, mutual understanding, restraint and concerted efforts in the search for peace and development. We therefore hope that it will be adopted unanimously.

28. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I thank the representative of Malta for the clarification given. It is my understanding that the Council is now ready to take a vote on the draft resolution presented by Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Togo, Zaire and Zimbabwe contained in document S/15770, as orally amended.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

The draft resolution was adopted unanimously [resolution 530 (1983)].

29. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): As the resolution is adopted, I shall call upon those members who wish to make statements after the vote. I call upon the representative of Guyana.

30. Mr. SINCLAIR (Guyana): Since this is my first formal statement in the Council for the month of May, Sir, permit me to welcome your return to New York as the head of Zaire's mission to the United Nations. I also congratulate you on your accession to the presidency of the Council for the month of May. Our agenda for the remainder of this month is daunting, indeed, but my delegation is confident that with your mature wisdom, your diplomatic skill, your vast experience and your fortitude you will guide the Council's work successfully during what remains of this month.

31. At the same time, I must pay tribute to your distinguished predecessor, Mrs. Jeane Kirkpatrick of the United States, for the very competent manner in which she conducted the Council's affairs during the month of April.

32. This is the second occasion since April 1982 that Nicaragua has approached the Council, and on each of these two occasions the representatives of that Government have described situations that have deteriorated considerably since the preceding complaint and that move the entire Central American region closer to an all-out war.

33. Members of the Council agree that there is nothing arcane or mysterious about the charges which the Nicaraguan Minister for External Relations advanced here last week [*2431st meeting*]. The news media, including *The New York Times, The Washington Post* and *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines, have been generous and graphic, indeed, in their descriptions of the involvement of the Central Intelligence Agency in equipping and training anti-Sandinist elements. We have before us, as a Security Council document [*see S/15753*], an article from *The Washington Post* of 8 May in which the writers describe the deepening concern being felt in Washington about the nature and extent of these activities being perpetrated against Nicaragua.

34. The representatives of Nicaragua are therefore performing a valuable service to the cause of peace in Central America in denouncing before the Council and in exposing to the attention of the world the systematic escalation of aggression against their country, in gross violation of its sovereignty and territorial integrity and jeopardizing the peace and security of the Central American region and beyond. The Council, as the body with primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, has an obligation to make a credible and effective response to the situation which Nicaragua has brought to our attention.

35. For this reason, my delegation would have preferred a more forthright and unequivocal response by the Council to the systematic and escalating aggression of which Nicaragua is the victim. Yet this did not prevent us from supporting and even co-sponsoring the resolution which we have just adopted. We believe that even in this form the resolution represents an expression of the profound concern which is being felt not only within the region but throughout the international community for the acts of aggression being perpetrated against Nicaragua.

36. Guyana makes a solemn appeal for an end to these acts, for an end to intervention against this country. Nicaragua's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity must be respected, as must be the right of the people of that State to pursue its own political, economic and social development free from outside interference or pressure of any kind. Likewise, States must refrain from allowing their territories to be used as springboards for aggression against others and must settle their disputes by exclusively peaceful means.

37. It has been said and repeated *ad nauseam* in this forum and elsewhere that the problems facing the peoples of Central America have their roots in the archaic and unjust political and economic structures which they have inherited. These problems are not explainable in terms of an East-West confrontation, and it is a dangerous mistake to try to fit them into an ideological mould. These problems require, instead, peaceful solutions through political, negotiated settlements between parties concerned.

38. In this regard, my delegation would like to pay a special tribute to the countries in the Contadora Group—Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela—for their patient, painstaking efforts on behalf of peace.

39. The thrust of the diplomatic activity of the Contadora Group, that of promoting solutions to Central American conflicts by peaceful means through negotiated solutions, symbolizes the consensus of the overwhelming majority of the international community on the problems facing Central America and what the approach to their solution should be. My delegation calls for the most active support for and co-operation with these States in their noble efforts on behalf of peace. In this connection, we would like to underscore their call issued to Central American countries in the bulletin of 12 May "to help attain the goal of peace and, to that end, to apply their political will to search for ways leading to dialogue and understanding to settle their current differences" [*see S/15762, annex*].

40. The resolution just adopted does not give a direct role to the Secretary-General in relation to the efforts of the Contadora Group. Guyana has consistently taken the position that the United Nations represents the best shield for the protection and defence of arrangements for the promotion of peace and security. Guyana would like to pay a tribute to the concern which the Secretary-General, for his part, has been demonstrating at the existence or persistence of situations of tension and instability in whatever part of the world and to his resolute, dedicated pursuit of the goal of peace. We reaffirm our support for him in these endeavours. My delegation would therefore have liked to see in the Council's resolution a greater role given to the Secretary-General. We are reas-

sured by the confidence that his good offices nevertheless continue to be at the disposal of all who seek peace and stability in Central America.

41. Mr. de La BARRE de NANTEUIL (France) (*interpretation from French*): I should first like to express to you, Sir, our warm congratulations on your accession to the presidency of the Security Council for the month of May. The responsible functions you have performed here, in your country and elsewhere in the world have fitted you particularly well to exercise your office with exceptional confidence and authority. Your accession to the presidency is also a source of great satisfaction for my country, which has particularly friendly and trustful relations with yours. I should also like to extend our congratulations to your predecessor, Mrs. Kirkpatrick, who performed the functions of President of the Security Council for the month of April with remarkable tact and skill.

42. I should like now briefly to make clear the spirit in which my delegation voted in favour of the draft resolution that has just been adopted.

43. It is has always been France's opinion that in this region beset with tensions and conflicts the countries of the region should themselves seek for peaceful and negotiated solutions. We believe that any regional action should deal particularly with the deep-rooted causes of the problems of Central America, which are of an economic and social nature, and should do everything to ensure that such tensions do not become an element in the East-West conflict.

44. This is why France was one of the first countries to welcome and to support the initiative taken by the Contadora Group. France earnestly hopes that the regional action taken by that Group leaves the door open to all the means of settlement, including bilateral negotiations between countries directly concerned. It is furthermore in that spirit that we welcomed the initiative of the Presidents of Mexico and Venezuela in September 1982.

45. With regard to the role of the United Nations, I would mention that the position of France was set forth very thoroughly in the letter I addressed to the President of the Security Council on 6 April [*S/15689*].

46. France would like to express the earnest hope that there will be a positive outcome to the action undertaken by the four countries members of the Contadora Group.

47. Mr. D'ESCOTO BROCKMANN (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We came before the Council to explain the serious consequences for Nicaragua of the immoral and totally unjustifiable armed invasion of our country from Honduran territory by Somozist mercenaries directed and financed by the Reagan Administration. We also explained the dangers—not only for Nicaragua but also for international peace—that stem from the fact that this major Power is using the Government and army of the sister Republic of Honduras to perpetrate aggression against Nicaragua, and in this connection we performed our duty of alerting the Security Council, and through it the international community as a whole, to the fact that, to the extent that the Government of Honduras continues to allow itself to be used by the United States as an instrument in this dirty war, the possibility of war between Nicaragua and Honduras, which we have always wished and continue to wish to avoid, will become increasingly real.

48. We stated clearly that our people and our Government want peace and that because we want peace we have come to the Council for the third time in quest of a clear and categorical answer that will remind all States of the obligation to respect the principles of the Charter and Nicaragua's right to live in peace and security, free from all outside interference. We also asked that the Council remind all States of their obligation to use dialogue to solve situations that may threaten international peace.

49. It is my belief that this resolution, which was sponsored by all eight non-aligned countries members of the Council and subsequently endorsed by the seven other members, is an important one and that, if it is taken into account with the seriousness due all Council resolutions, it should succeed in bringing about the end of the armed invasion of and aggressions against Nicaragua and in ensuring respect for our territorial integrity and sovereignty.

50. With this resolution the competence of the Security Council in the matter of the acts of aggression against Nicaragua is clearly and categorically established, as is our own right to return to the Council if, despite the resolution, the acts of armed aggression against Nicaragua being directed by the United States using third countries as its base are not brought to an end.

51. In expressing Nicaragua's gratitude first to the countries that sponsored the resolution, we should also like to thank the entire Council for its efforts to achieve a resolution that, although it is certainly the minimum required by an objective analysis of the facts, must not be underestimated, particularly when we take into account the fact that the aggressor country is in fact—and why not say so—a Power that considers itself untouchable.

52. The very fact that the United States did not oppose the resolution is one we would wish to interpret as a manifestation of its will to put an end to armed aggression against our country and to respect the right of the people of Nicaragua to live in peace and security free from any foreign interference.

53. As I have said, we would like to be able to construe in this way the attitude displayed today by the representative of the United States. However, I have to express some fears that we may be wrong, since only the day before yesterday—some 36 hours ago—President Reagan, in a press conference, once again actually admitted his support to the mercenaries who are attempting to overthrow our Government.

54. Permit me to quote the question put to President Reagan and his reply, which form the basis for these comments. The question was:

> "Since you have described the Sandinist régime as hostile and opposed to our interests in the western hemisphere, why are we not openly supporting those 7,000 guerrillas who are rebelling, instead of lending them assistance by means of covert operations?"

The President's reply was, "Because we want to continue to abide by the laws of our country." Because they want to continue to abide by their legislation, they will not do openly what they obviously recognize they are doing covertly.

55. Nevertheless, we hope that the position taken here a few minutes ago by the representative of the United States means a change of policy, a new readiness to respect the principles of the Charter and to resolve conflicts exclusively by peaceful means and not to resort to the threat or use of force or unlawful pressure to impose its will upon our country, as stated in the fourth preambular paragraph of the resolution and repeated in the sixth. Accordingly we hope that the United States will accept the frank and constructive dialogue that Nicaragua has always proposed and that has always met with a systematic rejection on the part of the Reagan Administration.

56. We want to have normal relations with the United States. We shall never bow to its pressure, its threats or its invasions, but the fact that we defend our sovereignty and independence must not be construed by any country as a hostile or unfriendly act. Whoever takes offence at our position of independence and non-alignment does so because he is not really interested in friendship, which must always be based on respect, but is only trying to subjugate us. We will always be friends to those who want our friendship. We will never be subservient to anyone.

57. Our watchword of "free homeland or death" is not an empty one; it is the clearest expression of the feelings of the children of Sandino.

58. In our statements during the debate we have clearly stated that we did not come here to discuss the problems existing in each of the Central American countries—oppression, political assassinations, the assassinations of bishops and of national or foreign religious figures, summary executions, the existence of death squads or the genocide that is perpetrated in some countries—all of which the world is aware of and have been condemned in the Commission on Human Rights and the General Assembly itself.

59. We came here to speak of the invasion of Nicaragua and not what is taking place in other countries of Central America or the situations endangering international peace which may arise from the refusal of a Central American country to recognize the sovereign existence of another nation of the region. While we have referred to Honduras, it was not to speak of the merits or demerits of its democratic system, which is so much to the liking of President Reagan and Mrs. Kirkpatrick. Honduras has been very much involved in this debate because of its policy of complicity in the invasion and aggression directed by the Reagan Administration through Honduran territory against Nicaragua, a fact which obviously constitutes the most serious danger to international peace in Central America.

60. In this connection, we attach particular importance to the third preambular paragraph of the resolution, in which the Security Council expresses its deep concern "at the situation prevailing on and inside the northern border of Nicaragua, and . . . at the consequent danger of a military confrontation between Honduras and Nicaragua". In view of this situation, can anyone reasonably object to the countries between which there is a danger of war meeting for an immediate bilateral dialogue? We believe that this is precisely the kind of situation referred to by the Contadora Group in its information bulletin of 21 April [*S/15727, annex*], since by its very nature it is one that requires, as the Group says, bilateral dialogue. It is the sort of case that by its very nature needs bilateral dialogue. We shall continue to support the praiseworthy efforts of the Contadora Group to achieve such a dialogue.

61. We are convinced that it is not through military solutions or the sending of military forces for any purpose to Central American countries that we shall achieve the peace and security that our peoples seek and need. It is through frank and constructive dialogue that we must achieve that objective, and the proof of this may be seen in the achievements arrived at in the search for solutions to problems on our southern border caused by the use of Costa Rican territory, behind the back of the Government of Costa Rica and against its will, to carry out aggression against Nicaragua within the framework of the aggressions orchestrated by the Reagan Administration.

62. I believe that it would be useful and interesting for the Council to become familiar with at least part of Communiqué No. 3, issued at the last meeting of the Nicaragua-Costa Rica Joint Bilateral Commission, held at Managua only two days ago. Allow me to quote from that:

> "The third meeting of the Nicaragua-Costa Rica Joint Bilateral Commission was held in the city of Managua on 16 and 17 May 1983. The delegation of Costa Rica was led by Licenciado Manuel Carballo, Vice-Minister of the Republic of Costa Rica. . . . . The delegation of Nicaragua was led by Dr. Rodrigo Reyes, Minister and Secretary-General of the Governing Junta of National Reconstruction. . . .
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> "At the meeting, which took place in a cordial, frank and friendly atmosphere, the integration and competence of the Commission were established and a sincere and broad analysis of the relations between Costa Rica and Nicaragua was carried out with regard to all the matters dealt with at the meeting, particularly the situation in the border area and the measures

that could be applied by common agreement by the two States to find a solution.

"The delegation of Costa Rica reported on the machinery that had been adopted by its Government in order to ensure its neutrality and the efforts it is making to prevent the use of its territory by counter-revolutionary elements engaged in activities aimed against the integrity and sovereignty of Nicaragua. The Nicaraguan side stated that it had not been confirmed that any members of the Sandinist People's Army had entered the territory of Costa Rica and that, if any had, it was without the knowledge of the authorities of the Sandinist People's Army, and they noted that the Nicaraguan military authorities would severely punish any such conduct. Both parties reaffirmed their readiness to promote and adopt all the necessary measures, within their jurisdictional limits, to solve the border problems. Both delegations reaffirmed their conviction that bilateral, direct and frank dialogue, as reflected in the work of the Joint Commission, was the most appropriate means of solving any differences or misunderstandings which might arise, particularly between sister countries. Both delegations agreed that the fourth meeting of the Joint Commission would take place in San José, Costa Rica, in July."

63. We believe that peace is possible provided there is the political will to respect the principles embodied in the resolution adopted today. We should like to believe that that political will exists, in which case we should have no reason to come back to the Council to denounce aggression against our country. If it does not, it will be our duty, in exercising our sovereign rights and as a Member of the Organization, once again to come to the Council to demand full compliance with the terms of this resolution or the application of the measures contemplated in the Charter with regard to those that defy the authority of the Council.

64. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of the United States, who wishes to speak in right of reply.

65. Mr. LICHENSTEIN (United States of America): The Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua tests our patience, our tolerance and, indeed, our sense of reality. He has heretofore maligned and misrepresented the policies of my Government and of its elected President. We have responded and I stand by our response. He has heretofore, and again today, maligned and misrepresented the policies and the actions of the Government of Honduras. The representative of Honduras has heretofore responded with fact, and I will not make any attempt to add to what he has put on the record.

66. This morning the Minister of Nicaragua has attempted to rewrite the resolution on which we have voted. My Government stands by its vote—its vote on that text.

67. Finally, I wish simply to reiterate what we have had occasion to say already in the previous proceeding on this matter and in the present proceeding. At precisely that moment when the Junta of Nicaragua shows a willingness to fulfil its obligations and its promises, which it initiated, to its neighbours and to its own people, there need be no further problems between my Government and people and the Government and people of Nicaragua.

68. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Does anybody else wish to speak? I had the impression that the debate was closed, but we seem to be reopening it. The representative of Honduras has asked to be allowed to speak. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to do so.

69. Mr. ORTEZ COLINDRES (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Honduras will not reopen the debate, but we have an obligation to our country to state its position, since it has been accused by the sister Republic of Nicaragua through its Sandinist Government.

70. In his statement the Minister for External Relations of Nicaragua made a mistake using a word that he subsequently corrected. That is precisely the difference between his country and mine. He is mistaken when he used the word *"acatar"*, confusing it with the word *"atacar"*.

71. We, the people of Honduras, wish to state that we fully respect the Council's extraordinary efforts to find a peaceful solution in keeping with the machinery established by the Charter of the United Nations and with the norms contained therein.

72. In earlier cases and past statements I have put forward arguments defending my Government against the attacks to which we have again been subjected by the Nicaraguan Minister. I simply wish to repeat these to make it clear that our country cannot remain silent in the face of the new veiled threat of war which we have just heard.

73. We should like to address a cordial appeal to our brothers in Nicaragua. It is my impression that when there is a deep-rooted desire to achieve an objective and when good faith is applied with respect to international agreements, it is very easy to reach solutions. The Council, by placing its faith and trust in the subregional Contadora Group, has indicated the body that we must make full use of in order to show, with real diplomatic and political responsibility, that we believe in the sincere effort of these countries to help.

74. As Honduras, at this time when the highest United Nations body has made a recommendation to us, we cannot make *a priori* judgements as to a future failure and a return to this body. Therefore we urge our brothers in Nicaragua, represented by their Minister for External Relations, that on 28, 29 and 30 of this month we should not just sit down at a table to enjoy a frugal meal without being able to speak bilaterally or multilaterally. These are matters of procedure. The Nicaraguan Minister, who is a priest, should have a more profound understanding of the meaning of dialogue. We Hondurans understand it to mean a healthy mental attitude and that we listen to

the other parties and pay attention to their comments and arguments, and in particular that we should adopt an emotional and mental attitude of truly wanting to implant and instil in the heart and mind of the other party the good and pure solution that is the basis of *pacta sunt servanda*, namely, good faith in negotiation among States.

75. Let us stop attacking each other. I should like the Nicaraguan Minister to believe me sincerely. I have served my country for 15 years and I am prepared to continue to do so. We shall strongly urge our Government in good faith to try to establish a definitive solution to our dispute within the Contadora Group. I trust in God—as he does—more than in the watchword "homeland or death", because I believe that one can establish a homeland to live in rather than think of dying for that sacrosanct concept.

76. I should like to thank the Council for having allowed me to make this brief statement. I should very much like to continue speaking, but I believe it is for the Contadora Group to listen to the two sides and to the other Central Americans, and with the help of God, we shall not have to return to this forum, since we are going to work on the basis of conciliation, common sense and respect.

77. As regards the concern voiced by the Council about a possible military confrontation between Honduras and Nicaragua, I should like to state once again in the Council that this military confrontation will never be caused by my Government or by the armed forces of my country. With God's help the moderates in Nicaragua will temper feelings and analyse what is the true meaning of the right of self-determination of peoples and the principle of non-intervention.

78. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): There are no further speakers at this time, nor anything else that needs to be said. Therefore, on these words of peace and of promise for dialogue, I adjourn this morning's meeting.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.